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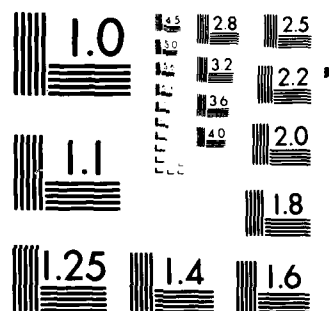
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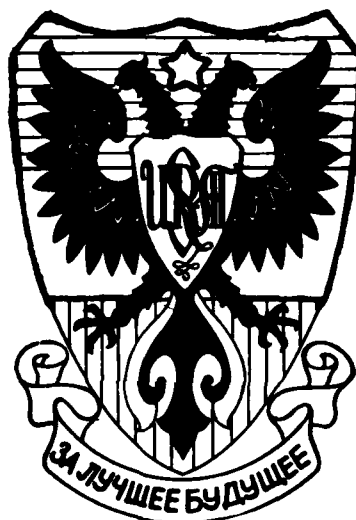


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## STUDENT RESEARCH REPORT

SOVIET MILITARY DISCIPLINE:  
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 1960  
AND 1975 DISCIPLINARY REGULATIONS

CPT Mark David Beto  
1980

GARMISCH, GERMANY

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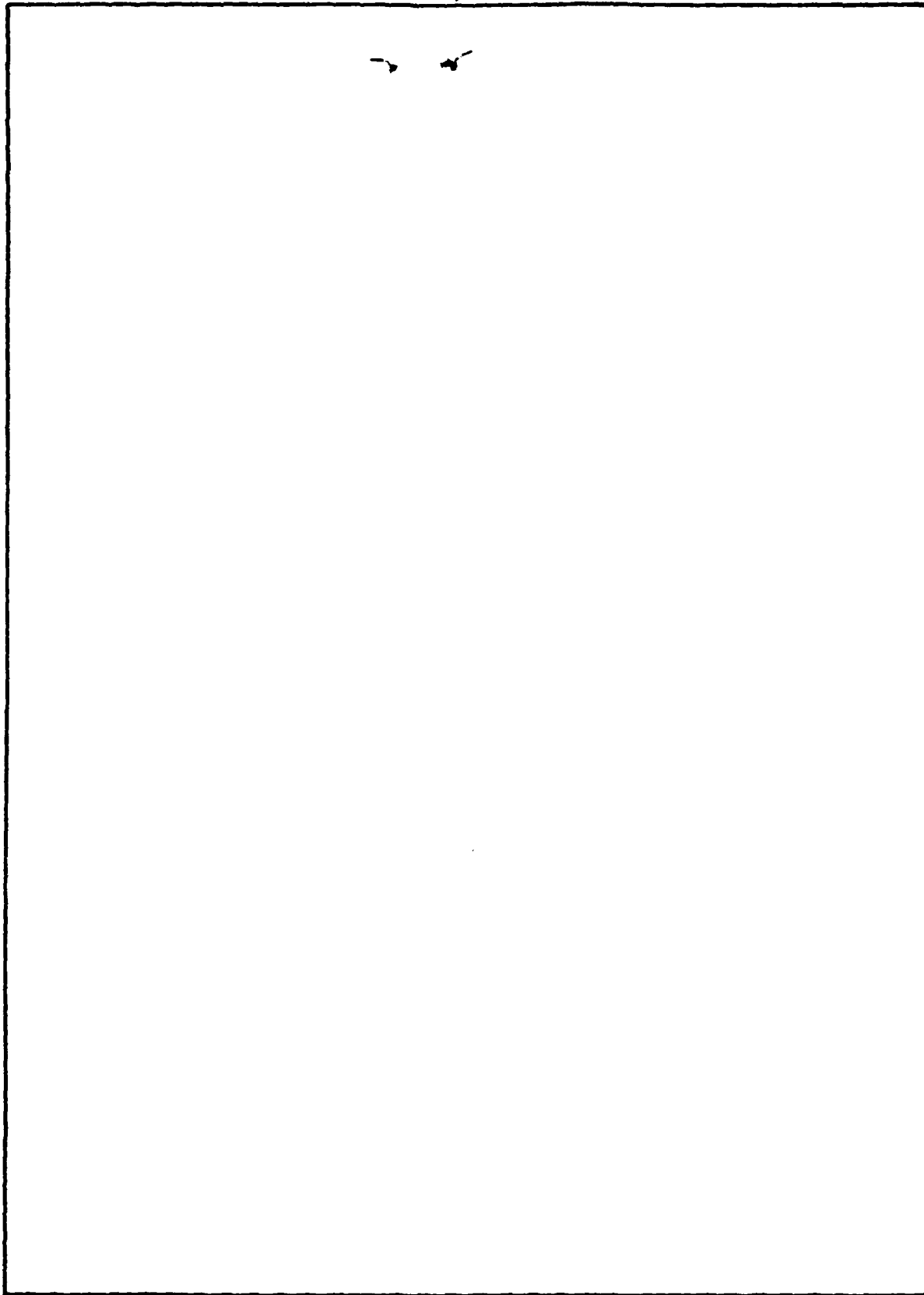
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CAPTAIN MARK DAVID/BETO

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## SUMMARY

In this paper the author presents a comparison of the 1960 and 1975 versions of the Disciplinary Regulation of the Armed Forces of the USSR. Significant differences are evident in this comparison and, speculating on the reasons behind these, the author concludes that the regulation was rewritten to enhance the authority and position of superiors and their control over subordinates, clarify provisions of the old regulation, codify organizational changes and existing practices, improve the overall disciplinary approach toward servicemen, and raise the level of military discipline to meet the challenges of advanced technology and modern warfare.

#### ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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## INTRODUCTION

Military discipline in the Soviet Union is defined as "the strict and precise observance by all military personnel of the procedures and rules established by Soviet laws and military regulations".<sup>1</sup> The emphasis placed on the importance of military discipline in the Soviet Armed Forces resembles religious fervor - with it, nothing is impossible. In the words of A.A. Grechko, Marshal of the Soviet Union, a soldier's discipline reflects his:

spiritual make-up, ideological maturity and his political and moral consciousness [in which] is manifested not only a deep understanding ... of the demands placed upon him by society, military regulations and orders, but also his<sup>2</sup> ability to explicitly fulfill them under any conditions.

Instilling in servicemen this sense of discipline, however, is another matter. Due to differences of education, culture, language and the fact that a large number of people entering the Soviet Armed Forces have not had the benefit of prior work experience, developing military discipline requires a great deal of effort.<sup>3</sup>

The Disciplinary Regulation of the Armed Forces is one tool at the disposal of Soviet military leaders for dealing with the problem of developing and maintaining military discipline. The document generally equates to US Army non-judicial punishment in that it specifies those actions a commander may take short of criminal proceedings. With its help, a Soviet commander is to train his subordinates to:

faultlessly execute orders, unquestioningly obey superiors, be neat, smart, attentive and observant and learn to subordinate their deeds to common interests.<sup>4</sup>

The current Disciplinary Regulation was approved by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet on 30 June 1975 and replaced the one dated 23 August 1960. The fact that Soviet military leaders saw a need to rewrite their disciplinary code suggests that the 1960 version was somehow inadequate for their purposes and raises questions about events in the interim fifteen years leading up to the new version. The Soviet military press sheds some light:

In recent years a new law on general military service ... and a series of documents have been published which more precisely define questions ... concerning the life and routine of military personnel. All this demanded ... changes and additions in order that they [the regulations] fully meet the current level of development and conditions of our Armed Forces.<sup>5</sup>

This does not tell the whole story, and the purpose of this research project is to gain additional insight into what may have transpired between 1960 and 1975 to bring about these "changes and additions". Specifically, the scope of this research is as follows:

(a) translation and comparison of the 1960 and 1975 versions of the Disciplinary Regulation;

(b) identification of differences between the two;

(c) speculation on the reasons behind the differences with the aid of the Soviet military press and other Russian sources;

(d) identification of possible trends in Soviet military discipline.

### FORMAT CHANGES

One of the most striking differences between the two regulations has to do with their format. The new edition consists of five chapters instead of the previous fifteen, which supposedly "makes it more convenient for use by servicemen in their daily lives".<sup>6</sup> This explanation is probably valid. In the 1960 edition, four chapters were devoted to incentives, and these have been reorganized into one chapter with subtitles to guide the reader to the appropriate part. Likewise, eight chapters dealing with punishment have been transformed into one with, again, subtitles for the specialized subject areas (See figures 1 and 2).

Aside from the organization of chapters, the preface to the new regulation now contains the Military Oath, in the same format as that approved in August of 1960 and published in other documents (See Appendix 1).

Often, young Soviets are familiar with the Military Oath and regulations even before they are drafted for active duty. Once they are soldiers or sailors, however, the Oath takes on its intended significance. Each serviceman is thoroughly indoctrinated in the meaning and importance of the Military Oath through lectures and seminars conducted by political officers and veterans. This added to the way the Oath-taking ceremony is conducted (parade, trooping of the colors, ceremonial ritual, quasi-religious overtones), is designed to make the greatest possible impression on the serviceman. It is designed to develop a sense of responsibility toward military discipline and:

the depth and strength of this sense depend entirely on how well the propaganda of the oath and regulations is organized ... Personnel are constantly told that they cannot cultivate high moral and fighting qualities without strictly observing the oath and the regulations.<sup>7</sup>

This is reason enough to include the Military Oath in the Disciplinary Regulation. It is intended to show that the Oath is an important statute in itself, and one can expect to be punished for breaking it, as its last sentence indicates:

Should I violate this my solemn oath, however, may I be severely punished under Soviet Law and suffer the general hatred and contempt of workers.<sup>8</sup>

## FIGURE ONE - Format of 1960 Disciplinary Regulation<sup>9</sup>

### Introduction

Chapter 1 - General Provisions

Chapter 2 - Incentives Applicable to Soldiers, Sailors, Sergeants and Petty Officers

Chapter 3 - Rights of Supervisors to Employ Incentives for Subordinate Soldiers, Sailors, Sergeants and Petty Officers

Chapter 4 - Incentives Applicable to Officers, Generals and Admirals

Chapter 5 - Rights of Commanders to Employ Incentives for Subordinate Officers, Generals and Admirals

Chapter 6 - Punishments for Violation of Military Discipline

Chapter 7 - Disciplinary Actions Imposed on Soldiers, Sailors, Sergeants and Petty Officers

Chapter 8 - Rights of Supervisors to Impose Disciplinary Actions on Subordinate Soldiers, Sailors, Sergeants and Petty Officers

Chapter 9 - Disciplinary Actions Imposed on Officers, Generals and Admirals

Chapter 10 - Rights of Superiors to Impose Disciplinary Actions on Subordinate Officers, Generals and Admirals

Chapter 11 - Imposition of Disciplinary Actions in Special Cases

Chapter 12 - Procedure for Imposing Disciplinary Actions

Chapter 13 - Procedure for Implementing Disciplinary Actions

Chapter 14 - Recording Incentives and Disciplinary Actions

Chapter 15 - Complaints and Petitions

Appendices: 1. Comparative Table of Disciplinary Rights of Soviet Armed Forces Personnel by Type of Duty Position

2. Service Record

3. Book of Complaints and Petitions

4. Procedure for Arrest of Military Personnel

FIGURE TWO - Format of 1975 Disciplinary Regulation<sup>10</sup>

Introduction

Military Oath

Chapter 1 - General Provisions

Chapter 2 - Incentives

Chapter 3 - Punishments for Violation of Military Discipline

Chapter 4 - Recording Incentives and Disciplinary Actions

Chapter 5 - Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints

- Appendices:
1. Comparative Table of Disciplinary Rights of Soviet Armed Forces Personnel by Type of Duty Position
  2. Service Record
  3. Book of Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints
  4. Procedure for Arrest of Military Personnel



## GENERAL PROVISIONS

In both the 1960 and 1975 editions of the Disciplinary Regulation Chapter One is entitled "Obshchiye Polozheniya" or General Provisions. In this chapter, the following topics are addressed:

- (a) definition of military discipline;
- (b) disciplinary obligations of servicemen and commanders;
- (c) use of force;
- (d) disciplinary authority of each rank;
- (e) categories of personnel to which the regulation is applicable.

Significant differences between the 1960 and 1975 editions are apparent in the wording of this section. The reasons for the changes are probably Soviet desires to alter somewhat the disciplinary approach toward servicemen, to enhance the authority of commanders and senior officers, to clarify the intent of some of the provisions which have caused problems in the past, and to include provisions for warrant officers, a relatively new rank in the Soviet Armed Forces.

An apparent Soviet desire to improve relations between supervisors and their subordinates finds expression in paragraph four, which reads in part that a high level of military discipline is achieved by:

a constant exacting attitude of commanders (supervisors) toward subordinates, respect for their personal dignity, constant concern for them, and a skillful combination and proper application of the measures of persuasion and compulsion.<sup>11</sup>

The significant change here is the addition of the words "respect for their personal dignity, constant concern for them". This is apparently an attempt to allow for the fact that a new generation of Soviet soldiers with varied cultural backgrounds is serving in the armed forces, and military leaders must be educated accordingly. The Soviet soldier today is generally better educated, more sophisticated, realizes he is an individual human being, and wants to be treated as such. As it was explained in the Soviet military press:

A great cultural revolution has occurred ... and Soviet man has grown immeasurably ... accustomed to the achievements of science and art ... [and] crudity lowers and insults him.<sup>12</sup>

This is far from an isolated reference. A constant campaign is waged in the military press concerning the value of the Soviet soldier. He is described as "literate, cultured and conscientious" and "rudeness or demeaning (his) personal dignity" should not be tolerated.<sup>13</sup> The fact that the Soviet military press emphasizes this and that a major regulation has been changed to reflect this thinking must lead one to believe that "rudeness", "crudity", and "disrespect" for one's dignity is a major problem in the Soviet Armed Forces. Colonel General N. Lapygin (see Appendix II), then Chief of Staff of the Transbaykal Military District, highlighted this problem with his guidance that:

Standards should be constant and fair and free of rudeness or insults to the serviceman's honor and dignity.<sup>14</sup>

In paragraph five of the General Provisions is found the following:

Special attention on the part of commanders (supervisors) should be directed toward a study of individual qualities of servicemen ...<sup>15</sup>

Like "respect for dignity", "special attention ... toward ... individual qualities" is also new and is also probably due to the need for a more sophisticated approach toward servicemen. As one Soviet commentator declared:

The individual approach is most important when working with personnel. Disciplinary indoctrination of soldiers and teaching them to respect the requirements of regulations is significantly more effective when the individual approach permeates the entire training-indoctrination process.<sup>16</sup>

Punishment by Soviet commanders of an entire unit is not an isolated event. If one reads between the lines, one might well sense an effort to quietly notify those commanders who indulge in mass discipline that this procedure is officially discouraged and viewed as counter-productive to good discipline.

In paragraph 11, which deals with disciplinary authority of supervisors, the first reference to "praporshchik" (warrant officer) and "michman" (naval warrant) is found. Inclusion in the regulation of provisions relating to warrant officers is logical, since the rank was not established until 1971 and, therefore, was not addressed in the old regulations. References to warrant officers also appear in the other chapters of the new regulation. However, aside from the need to update the regulation to encompass all ranks, there are also some definite negative aspects concerning warrants with which the Soviet military leadership has had to deal. Major General V. Mosyakin, First Deputy of the Political Directorate of the Turkestan Military District, complained that:

People are paying too little attention to the selection criteria for warrant officer candidates (who) are being admitted with inadequate educational backgrounds, low performance records and low moral qualities.<sup>17</sup>

This does not speak well for the rank of warrant officer, which was supposedly instituted as an incentive to career-orientated non-commissioned officers and to enhance the quality of small-unit leadership. This endeavour has not enjoyed complete success, for there are many examples of warrant officers "violating military discipline"<sup>18</sup> and even an admission from a senior Soviet officer that "there is more trouble with warrant officers than sergeants".<sup>19</sup> All this leads to the conclusion that rewriting the regulation to reflect the new rank was a necessary task, in order to deal with the troublesome members of that rank.

The remaining changes to the "General Provisions" appear to be part of an attempt to enhance the authority of commanders and senior officers. In paragraph 12, which deals with miscellaneous general officer positions, the last sentence is completely new:

Commanders (supervisors) occupying positions for which manning tables provide two military ranks have the disciplinary authority in accordance with the higher military rank.<sup>20</sup>

This addition may also have been an attempt to clarify the status of those commanders who find themselves in this position and who may be confused or uncertain about the extent of their disciplinary authority. In addition, this provision may have a sobering effect on subordinates when they realize that the "old man" has the ability to exercise the full authority of his position, even though his rank, by itself, would not normally justify such authority.

Other changes also reflect an attempt to enhance authority. In paragraph 15, which deals with the status of officers on detached duty, the words "deputy regimental commander" are added, citing specific disciplinary authority and giving statutory support to that position. Paragraph 17 lists the following senior officer positions as having the disciplinary authority of a military district commander:

- (a) Chiefs of the combat arms and support branches;
- (b) Commanders of special troops;
- (c) Heads of the main and central directorates within the Ministry of Defense.

In addition, paragraph 17 assigns the disciplinary authority of an army or flotilla commander to the chiefs of the main and central directorates directly subordinate to the deputy defense ministers.

Lastly, paragraph 18 represents another new addition to the "General Provisions". In addition to the Minister of Defense, it assigns complete disciplinary authority with respect to subordinate forces to the Chairman of the Committee for State Security (KGB) and the Minister of Internal Affairs. This change has been interpreted by some as a logical move to include in the disciplinary regulation the large number of uniformed troops of the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs (both of which are commanded by army generals). In addition, it could be seen as an attempt to raise the statutory position of the KGB Chief to the level of a minister, even though in reality his power and authority already exceed that.<sup>21</sup>

#### INCENTIVES

Chapter Two of the 1975 Disciplinary Regulation is entitled "Pooshchreniya" or "Incentives" (commendations) and replaces Chapters Two through Five of the 1960 edition. In the new chapter, the following topics are addressed:

- (a) importance and use of incentives;
- (b) incentives applicable to each rank;
- (c) incentive authority of commanders and supervisors;
- (d) procedure for employing incentives.

According to the Chief of Staff of the Rear, Colonel General I. Golushko, "incentives hold great significance" and are preferred over punitive disciplinary measures.<sup>22</sup> This is based on the belief that "commendation of a serviceman for his success inspires him to redouble his efforts" and when "efforts are not noticed,

he may become passive and indifferent."<sup>23</sup>

Significant changes appear in the chapter on incentives. There are additional indications that the Soviets wish to enhance the authority of commanders, employ a more sophisticated approach toward servicemen, include provisions for the new warrant officer ranks, and clarify some troublesome provisions of the 1960 regulation. However, some of the changes may also be traceable to an effort to decrease the number of incidents, exert greater control over the lives of servicemen, and acknowledge the larger role currently being played in the armed forces by women.

Unlike the old regulation, in which the section dealing with incentives began with a simple listing of measures applicable to servicemen, the new chapter initially takes pains to explain to commanders the importance of incentives to military discipline, that use of incentives is obligatory, and that commanders can ask that a senior commander employ incentives if normal authority is found to be insufficient in a particular case. This added emphasis and explanation indicates that many commanders have not fully appreciated the value of incentives and, as a consequence, have neglected their use. In addition, it seems clear that there have been problems with commanders not having sufficient authority to properly employ incentives to meet particular needs. As paragraph 20 states:

Where a commander (supervisor) realizes that the rights granted him are insufficient, he can request that distinguished military personnel be commended under the authority of the senior commander.<sup>24</sup>

In paragraph 21, the process of educating commanders about incentives continues. Here appears something that, oddly enough, was missing in the old regulation: the conditions under which incentives are to be employed. The regulation states that incentive awards are appropriate for:

Courage and valor displayed in the performance of military duty, outstanding results in combat and military training, outstanding mastery of new and complex equipment, exemplary leadership of troops, and other distinguished services to the Soviet State and the Armed Forces.<sup>25</sup>

This is evidence not only of an uncertainty among commanders concerning the use of incentives, but it also hints at possible abuse (or at least misuse) of them. In addition, of special significance in this listing of conditions under which incentives are to be employed is the phrase "outstanding mastery of new and complex equipment". This suggests that such "mastery" is the exception rather than the rule and that Soviet military personnel are experiencing a great deal of difficulty in coping with the advances in military technology.

One of the changes in incentives which appears to be an attempt to decrease off-duty problems and exert greater control over troops is the provision establishing the pass policy. The 1960 edition of the regulation allowed servicemen a pass from the unit area or vessel up to 48 hours. The "48 hours" has been eliminated and replaced with the words "during the days and hours established for this by the unit commander".<sup>26</sup> One excuse given for the change is that the provision was "rarely employed", but it has been openly admitted that:

As experience has shown, this [the 48-hour pass] did not enhance indoctrination of soldiers but ... created conditions for the commission of offenses.<sup>27</sup>

FIGURE THREE - List of Incentives Which May Be Employed By Commanders At Various Levels

Commendation

Suspension of previously imposed disciplinary action

Short pass

Certificates, prizes or money

Personal photograph of serviceman taken before the unit banner

Hometown news release

Promotion to Private First Class (Senior Seaman)

Chest emblem of excellence

Listing of names in the Unit Book of Honor

Ten days leave

Early promotion

Engraved saber or firearm

Listing of names on the Board of Honor (applies to academic situations)

In other words, in an effort to combat the problems of off-post drunkenness, instances of "immorality", and even concern among some commanders over soldiers purchasing "obscene materials", Soviet military leaders have found it necessary to "crack down" and further restrict the already highly-restricted existence of soldiers.<sup>28</sup>

Additional guidance given is that:

There is no need ... to grant a pass to many servicemen all at once. Practice reveals that it is better to grant short passes to small groups of men who have distinguished themselves.<sup>29</sup>

The fact that Soviet soldiers are now limited to "short passes" in "small groups" indicates that off-duty disciplinary problems are so great that recreation must be conducted like everything else in the Soviet Armed Forces, by the numbers and under constant supervision.

Paragraphs 22g and 22h were added to the regulation in an apparent attempt to enhance the authority of commanders and employ more meaningful incentives. These sub-paragraphs provide for the promotion to private first class (Army) and senior seaman (Navy) and promotion of sergeants and petty officers on extended-service to one grade higher than that prescribed for their particular duty positions. These provisions serve not only to enhance the morale of the recipient of the honor but also to motivate others.

Just as in many armies of the world, women seem to be playing a greater role in the Soviet Armed Forces. Paragraph 16 of the Soviet Law on Universal Military Service provides for both conscription in wartime and voluntary enlistment of women in peacetime.<sup>30</sup> The resulting influx of women into the armed forces required that paragraph 23 be added to the regulation to provide incentives for women. The provision includes the same incentives as those applicable to other servicemen, excluding promotion for extended-service sergeants and petty officers, pass for first-term personnel, and leave for extended-service personnel. These provisions are purposely excluded since the designations "first-term" and "extended-service" do not apply to female military personnel. Their period of service is voluntary and is determined by contract upon enlistment.<sup>31</sup>

The remaining changes in the chapter appear to be clarifications of old provisions or new general guidance concerning the employment of incentives. Paragraph 31d places a limit on early promotion for officers. In the 1960 edition, one of the incentives available to "Officers, Generals and Admirals" was a somewhat open-ended provision for "early promotion to the next higher military rank".<sup>32</sup> However, this has been changed in the new edition to read "early promotion to the next higher military rank up to and including lieutenant colonel or naval captain 2nd class".<sup>33</sup> This was an apparent attempt to dispel any uncertainties commanders might have concerning their authority and, also, to avoid abuse and tighten control at the higher levels.

The last major change to the chapter on incentives is the addition of paragraphs 36 through 42, which comprise a section entitled "Poryadok Primemeniya Pooshchreniy" (Procedure for Employing Incentives). This section provides for the following:

(a) employment of incentives to individual personnel or to units as a whole;

(b) awarding short leaves during the first year of service with a suspense of thirty days in which the leave must actually be taken;

(c) presentation of the chest emblem of excellence only to those personnel who have demonstrated excellence for two consecutive training periods;

(d) circumstances and procedure for recording names in the unit or vessel book of honor;

(e) announcement of incentives orally or in a written order, and before a formation or in an assembly;

(f) emphasis on the use of a special ceremony when awarding incentives;

(g) limiting the authority to suspend a previously imposed disciplinary action to those commanders who actually imposed the punishment, and allowing only one suspension at a time;

(h) time periods for suspension of reductions in rank or position.

It is fairly easy to imagine how abuses may have crept into the system, thereby necessitating the additions. Commanders may have been:

(a) granting leave and then not allowing it to be taken;

(b) using the chest emblem of excellence or book of honor too freely;

(c) neglecting to use special ceremonies, thereby forfeiting some of the motivational effect;

(d) suspending punishments imposed by other commanders, suspending more than one at a time, or being either too strict or too lenient in suspending reductions in rank or position.

Whatever the specific reasons behind the changes to this portion of the regulation, it seems clear that an attempt is being made to alleviate some of the problems experienced in the past with regard to the control of both troops and their leaders, and that a generally greater emphasis is now being placed on incentives with that in mind. As Secretary Brezhnev stressed at the 24th Party Congress in 1971, discipline should not be based on fear or harsh measures which "engender over-cautiousness and dishonesty" but on positive motivational measures.<sup>34</sup>

#### PUNISHMENT

Despite what Brezhnev said publicly and what senior Soviet military leaders might like to think about the role of incentives and other so-called "positive" measures, punishment (or the threat of it) is the primary means of maintaining discipline in the Soviet Armed Forces. As Lieutenant General Xmel declares:

The means of invoking disciplinary responsibility in the Armed Forces are penalties - measures of influence prescribed by the regulations ... for misdemeanor or for violation of public order if the latter does not entail a trial by a court of justice.<sup>35</sup>

Chapter Three of the 1975 Disciplinary Regulation provides these "measures". The chapter is entitled "Vzyskaniya Za Narusheniye Voinskoy Distipliny" (Punishments for Violation of Military Discipline) and replaces Chapters Six

through Thirteen in the 1960 edition. In the new chapter, the following general topics are addressed:<sup>36</sup>

- (a) purpose of disciplinary actions;
- (b) use of public censure;
- (c) types of punishments (See Figure Four), circumstances under which they may be imposed, and who may impose them;
- (d) procedure for imposing disciplinary actions;
- (e) procedure for implementing disciplinary actions.

Significant changes are evident in this chapter. Additional indicators point to a Soviet wish to enhance the authority of commanders and supervisors, employ a more sophisticated disciplinary approach, include provisions for warrant officers and female personnel, and generally rewrite those paragraphs which have resulted in uncertainties or abuses in the past. There are also signs of subtle attempts at propaganda, codification of existing practices, organizational changes, and an increase in the control and disciplinary flexibility for commanders.

The initial change to the chapter is found in paragraph 43, which explains the role of punishment in military life and provides that a commander:

... may employ any punishment within the limits of the disciplinary authority granted to him which, in his opinion, will have the greatest educational effect on the serviceman who has committed the offense.<sup>37</sup>

The significant change here is the phrase "greatest educational effect" which does not appear in the old version.

Apparently, Soviet leaders feel that a soldier's existence should be a great educational experience for him. Lieutenant-General V. Goncharov, then Chief of the Political Directorate for the Trans-Baykal Military District, emphasized this point and helped explain the word change when he wrote that the young soldier entering the Army today "feels constrained" and has problems with "discipline, behavior, and fulfillment of duties". According to Goncharov, the reason for this is that:

The precise rhythm of army life, the strictness of his schedule, and the need to unquestioningly subordinate himself are unfamiliar to him.<sup>38</sup>

As the solution to the problem, Goncharov proposes that a "firm statutory order" be:

insistently inculcated every day, every hour, every minute, by a whole system of precisely organized ... education.<sup>39</sup>

Some of the new changes having to do with punishment are aimed at enhancing "the authority of noncommissioned officers"<sup>40</sup> and other low-level supervisory personnel. This is substantiated by the provision in paragraph 44 for "comrades' courts of honor for extended service personnel" and the deletion from paragraph 57



FIGURE FOUR - Punishments Authorized by Chapter Three of the 1975  
Disciplinary Regulation

| <u>Punishment</u> (In order of appearance<br>in the regulation) | <u>Imposing Authority</u>    |
|---|------------------------------|
| Admonition  | Squad Leader and higher      |
| Reprimand   | Squad Leader and higher      |
| Severe Reprimand  | Squad Leader and higher      |
| Denial of a Pass  | Squad Leader and higher      |
| Extra Duty  | Squad Leader and higher      |
| Arrest with confinement to guardhouse                           | Company Commander and higher |
| Denial of the chest emblem of excellence                        | Regimental Cdr and higher    |
| Warning about non-fulfillment of duties                         | Regimental Cdr and higher    |
| Reduction in position   | Regimental Cdr and higher    |
| Reduction in rank   | Regimental Cdr and higher    |
| Reduction in rank with reduction in<br>position                 | Regimental Cdr and higher    |
| Transfer to the reserves  | Division Cdr and higher      |

of the provision allowing battalion commanders the authority to relegate extended-service noncommissioned officers to the reserves.<sup>41</sup> Soviet military leaders realize that noncommissioned officers comprise the "largest segment of commanders" and "are called upon to make the greatest contribution in support of statutory order".<sup>42</sup> The thinking is that this increased responsibility must be supported with a commensurate level of authority to help avoid, according to Colonel-General Lapygin, such leadership problems as:

altercations between soldiers and sergeants, uniform violations, [and] negligence in the care of weapons and equipment.<sup>43</sup>

Despite this orchestrated emphasis on the role of noncommissioned officers, more attention seems to have been devoted to enhancing the authority of senior officers. Paragraph 69d represents a change to that end. In it the maximum periods of arrest for officers is established - ten days for junior officers (company grade) but only five days for senior officers (field grade). The 1960 edition simply provided a blanket statement for all officers: "arrest with confinement to the guardhouse - up to ten days".<sup>44</sup> Similarly, a new provision appears in paragraph 70: "Senior officers in the rank of colonel and naval captain 1st class ... are not subject to arrest with confinement to the guardhouse". Before this only applied to certain colonels and naval captains in major command and staff positions.

Additional support for senior officers is found in paragraph 72, which gives commanders of separate battalions or 2nd-class warships the authority to give lower-ranking officers "warnings about deficiencies in the performance of their duties".<sup>45</sup> In addition to enhancing commanders' authority, the extra provision gives them more flexibility in disciplining their officers.

Paragraph 101 of the new edition prescribes under what circumstances and before whom announcements of disciplinary actions may be made and includes a statement pertaining to the "announcement of disciplinary actions imposed (on) generals and admirals".<sup>46</sup> This statement does not appear in the 1960 version and probably represents an attempt to increase the leverage available to senior military leaders. This is an apparently justifiable aim, for Colonel-General Lapygin complains that some "senior officers, who should have used their authority to help ... prevent (problems), deserve reproach".<sup>47</sup> Paragraph 101 also states "Announcements of disciplinary actions against commanders (supervisors) in the presence of their subordinates is prohibited". The fact that the Soviets found it necessary to add this to the new regulation suggests that such abuses were frequent and that commanders needed some statutory assistance and leadership guidance.

The remaining change having to do with senior officer authority is the deletion of paragraph 35 (1960 edition) from the new text. It provided for the dismissal from their positions of corps commanders, corps chiefs of staff, naval division commanders, flotilla commanders, flotilla chiefs of staff, and their equivalents and higher by the authority of the Minister of Defense. Although this provision does not appear in the new regulation, this should not be construed as limiting the authority of the Minister of Defense with regard to senior officers. Its removal is probably simple window-dressing designed to indicate to the rest of the military establishment that there should never be any reason for such a provision, that these senior officers are all good communists and will do their duty and that their authority should never be questioned. However, the Soviet military press testifies to the fact that this theory cannot be applied at lower levels. One report involved a difference of opinion between a division commander and an "inspecting officer from the General Staff". When given an order to take a

specific action, the division commander balked. The inspecting officer had to inform the division commander that unless the order was obeyed, he was "prepared to notify the General Staff ... and take command himself, if necessary".<sup>48</sup>

Veiled attempts at propaganda appear elsewhere in Chapter Three. Paragraph 47 excludes the old provision concerning the removal of personnel from their positions in wartime. The Soviet regulation writers may have felt that there was little need to include it in the new regulation, reasoning that if war comes, it will have been perpetrated by imperialist aggressors and directed against the Soviet homeland. In such a situation, they may have concluded, there would be no need to relieve anyone, since all soldiers are good citizens and will do their duty to defend the homeland.

Another example which might be interpreted as propaganda is the general reduction in the periods of "arrest with confinement to the guardhouse" found in paragraphs 48-50 and 73-77. This supposedly higher quality of Soviet soldier seems to require a different approach. In this case, the inference is that the "new Soviet man" does not need to spend as long a time in the guardhouse as he once did, but he still needs the guardhouse.

Providing greater disciplinary control and flexibility to commanders and supervisors is another aim behind the changes in Chapter Three. The provision of a "strict reprimand" for soldiers and sailors in paragraph 48c gives commanders an additional option between a simple reprimand and denial of a pass. Other additions include the right of commanders of separate battalions or 2nd-class warships to officially warn sergeants and petty officers about deficiencies in the performance of their duties (paragraph 57) and the provision in paragraph 82 calling for the reduction in rank by one grade of any officer in a reserve or retired status who "violates military discipline or public order while wearing the military uniform".<sup>49</sup> Before, such offenses simply resulted in "arrest with confinement to the guardhouse".<sup>50</sup> This probably had little control over the officers and provided no lasting impact. Reduction in rank, on the other hand affects pay, represents a loss of status, and proves to be a source of continual embarrassment before family and friends.

One of the most significant disciplinary problems facing the Soviet Armed Forces is alcoholism. In 1974, according to the Soviets' chief military prosecutor at that time, Colonel General A. Gornyy, more than a third of all offenses committed by servicemen were done so in a drunken state.<sup>51</sup> The 1960 edition dealt with the problem as follows:

Imposition of disciplinary action on an offender found to be in an intoxicated state, as well as obtaining any kind of explanation from him, is postponed until he is sober, for which he may, if necessary, be placed under preliminary arrest with confinement to the guardhouse.<sup>52</sup>

Soviet commentators have written that this provision "suffered from imprecision, since the period of arrest was not established".<sup>53</sup> As a result, according to Colonel General Golushko, "a common understanding ... of this requirement did not exist".<sup>54</sup> In an effort to reach a "common understanding" and to avoid abuses in connection with detention periods, the new regulation specifies that the intoxicated offender "may be placed in the guardhouse up to 24 hours, after which a decision is made concerning his liability".<sup>55</sup>

Other attempts at clarification of the 1960 provisions to avoid "mistakes and distortions in disciplinary practice"<sup>56</sup> include

(a) explicit prohibition against subjecting officers, warrant officers, and extended-service personnel to comrades' courts of honor and simultaneously imposing disciplinary action on them (paragraph 44);

(b) a restriction that reductions in military rank be limited to one grade at a time (paragraphs 49 and 50);

(c) specific disciplinary authority for division and corps commanders, thereby making a distinction between the two where before none existed (paragraphs 59 and 60);

(d) elimination of a provision allowing certain commanders disciplinary authority over personnel in tenant units, thereby enhancing the chain of command by retaining disposition of offenses in normal command channels.

Such "clarifications and additions" to the new regulation have been explained as "a result of the experience gained from using the (old) regulation in the Armed Forces".<sup>57</sup>

Like the other chapters, provisions applicable to warrant officers are listed (paragraphs 62-68), as well as those for female military personnel (paragraphs 51 and 70). The latter paragraph prohibits women from being subjected to arrest with confinement to the guardhouse, because to do so would probably cause more problems than it would solve, such as different treatment, female security personnel and separate facilities.

An example of a regulation change due to organizational modifications is the elimination of paragraph 60 of the 1960 edition, which specified the disciplinary authority for the Chief Inspector in the Ministry of Defense and the inspectors-general in the various services. The reason behind the deletion of the inspectors-general within each service is that the positions no longer exist. The authority of the "Glavnyy Inspektor" or Chief Inspector in the Ministry of Defense is now provided in paragraph 17 of the new regulation, which addresses the disciplinary rights of the heads of the main and central directorates.

The first sentence in paragraph 45 is a new addition and reads as follows: "Military personnel are criminally liable for the crimes they commit, in accordance with existing legislation".<sup>58</sup> This has been interpreted as an attempt to eliminate any double-standard which might exist between military personnel and civilians.<sup>59</sup> It tells commanders that a close look should be taken to determine whether something more than non-judicial punishment should be imposed. Infractions of military discipline might involve loss or damage of property or injury to other persons, thereby necessitating harsher measures or at least those normally applied to civilians. Legally, however, this represents no real change. As a specialist in Soviet law revealed, the change merely shows an attempt to codify within the regulation previously existing practice.<sup>60</sup> This refers to Articles 237 through 269 (Chapter 12 - Military Crimes) in the Criminal Code of the RSFSR which provide a listing of infractions, their description and the applicable punishment.<sup>61</sup>

The remaining modifications to Chapter Three also appear to be only codifications of existing practices, such as reduction in rank of noncommissioned officers with transfer to a lower position or to the reserves (paragraphs 49 and 50).

## DISCIPLINARY RECORDS

An additional example of a change reflecting codification of existing practice is the one and only change to Chapter Four, entitled "Uchet Pooshchreniy i Distsiplinarykh Vzyskaniy" (Recording Incentives and Punishments). This chapter replaces Chapter 14 of the 1960 version and addresses the following:

- (a) Reporting incentives and disciplinary actions through command channels;
- (b) Record-keeping at company level and above and the use of individual service records (See Figure Five).

The change to this chapter appears in paragraph 108 and is the addition of the last sentence:

Every serviceman must review his service record once a year and must personally sign to this effect.<sup>62</sup>

As indicated earlier, this addition does not represent a procedural change, but merely codifies, according to a former Soviet battalion commander, a long-standing personnel practice.<sup>63</sup>

## SUGGESTIONS, PETITIONS AND COMPLAINTS

"O Predlozheniyakh, Zayavleniyakh i Zhalobakh" (On Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints) is the title of Chapter Five, which replaces Chapter 15 entitled "Complaints and Petitions" of the 1960 edition. In the new chapter the following topics are addressed:

- (a) Rights and obligations of servicemen concerning reporting complaints about personal matters or the unauthorized activities of others;
- (b) Obligations of commanders concerning disposition of suggestions, petitions and complaints.

The changes in this section appear to be attempts at enhancing morale and communication between superiors and subordinates and making the bureaucracies at the various command levels more responsive. The title of the chapter, as already noted, has been changed from "Complaints and Petitions" to "Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints". This change could be described as a desire to improve relations between commanders and subordinates, develop initiative in subordinates, and improve morale by implying that servicemen have a say in unit administration. Whatever the reason behind the change in wording, it seems clear that an invitation of sorts is being extended.

An effort to make commanders and their headquarters more responsive to issues raised at lower levels and, at the same time, provide more realistic suspense periods appears in paragraph 121. It requires that suggestions, petitions and complaints be acted upon in the directorates of the military districts and the Ministry of Defense within 15 days and in units and training institutions within seven days. If research or an investigation is required, the seven-day requirement may be extended to 15. These numbers represent changes from the old regulation which stipulated a blanket seven days at any level and a maximum of 20 days if an investigation was required.

FIGURE FIVE - Service Record<sup>64</sup>

SERVICE RECORD

\_\_\_\_\_ Company (detachment) of military unit \_\_\_\_\_

1. Duty Position \_\_\_\_\_

2. Military Rank \_\_\_\_\_

3. Last Name, First Name, Patronymic \_\_\_\_\_

4. Year of Enlistment \_\_\_\_\_

5. Party Affiliation or Membership in Komsomol \_\_\_\_\_

A. Incentives

| Reason | Form of Incentive | Effective Date & Order Number | By Whom |
|--------|-------------------|-------------------------------|---------|
|        |                   |                               |         |

(Reverse side)

B. Punishments

| Reason | Date of Offense | Form of Punishment | Date & Order No. | By Whom | When & By Whom Removed |
|--------|-----------------|--------------------|------------------|---------|------------------------|
|        |                 |                    |                  |         |                        |

Like the old regulation, the new one requires that a record of suggestions, petitions and complaints be maintained in every unit (see Figure Six).

FIGURE SIX - Book of Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints<sup>65</sup>

BOOK OF SUGGESTIONS, PETITIONS AND COMPLAINTS  
OF MILITARY UNIT \_\_\_\_\_

| Sequence Number | Date of Receipt (Year, Month, Day) | Last Name, First Name and Patronymic of Person Submitting Suggestion, Petition, Complaint and His Relationship to Military Service | Brief Summary of Suggestion, Petition, Complaint | To Whom and When Submitted For Action and Signature of Action Officer | Suspense | Decision and Date | File Number/Description |
|-----------------|------------------------------------|--|--|---|----------|-------------------|-------------------------|
|                 |                                    |  |  |   |          |                   |                         |

## APPENDICES TO THE REGULATIONS

Like the old regulation, the 1975 version includes four appendices:

- (a) Comparative Table of Disciplinary Rights
- (b) Service Record
- (c) Book of Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints
- (d) Arrest Procedures

Two of them - Appendix Two (Service Record) and Appendix Three (Book of Suggestions, Petitions and Complaints) remain unchanged. Appendix One, the comparative table of Army and Naval disciplinary rights, has been changed substantially (See Figures Seven and Eight). In the 1960 table, the disciplinary authority of naval commanders exceeded that of their army counterparts. According to the Soviets:

Principal clarifications are provided in the comparative table ... Specifically, several of the categories of commanders (supervisors) in the Navy, having more disciplinary rights when compared to corresponding positions in the Soviet Army, are equated with the latter.<sup>68</sup>

Appendix Four, the procedures for arrest, has also undergone substantial revision. The primary reasons behind the changes are the prevention of abuses and the standardization and reorganization of procedures.

The initial change to the arrest procedures appears in Item Two:

The arrest report concerning soldiers, sailors, sergeants and petty officers is signed by the commander of the company (or corresponding subunit), and is certified with the unit seal.<sup>69</sup>

The significant change here is the addition of the words "and is certified with the unit seal". The word "unit" refers to the parent organization to which the company or subunit belongs, normally a regiment or separate battalion.

One commentator has suggested that this small addition represents an attempt to enhance control over the disciplinary practices of subunit (battalion and below) commanders.<sup>70</sup> By using the unit seal, the reasoning goes, officers will be acting in behalf of the senior commander and, because of this, will avoid excessive leniency or harshness in the treatment of the offender. In addition, an offender may realize that, with the addition of the seal to his arrest form the full power and authority of the senior commander is being brought to bear in his particular case. However, the primary reason is that the arrest report itself is a new addition to the Disciplinary Regulation (See Figure Nine). Previously printed in the old unit administration regulation (Ustav Vnutrenney Sluzhby), it indicated a space for the unit seal.<sup>72</sup>

The arrest report retains the same format, except that now a notation is required concerning the date of the serviceman's last bath and the results of a



FIGURE SEVEN - Comparative Table of Disciplinary Right (1960)<sup>66</sup>

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF DISCIPLINARY RIGHTS BY THE TYPE OF DUTY POSITIONS OF PERSONNEL OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES

| Soviet Army  | Navy   |
|--|--|
| Squad Leader, Gun Crew Chief   | Squad Leader   |
| Deputy Platoon Leader  | -  |
| Company, Battery, Air Squadron<br>First Sergeant   | Detachment, Group, Turret, Battery<br>First Sergeant   |
| Platoon Leader   | Group, Turret Leader   |
| Company, Battery, Flight,<br>Separate Platoon Leader                                       | Commander of 4th-class Vessel,<br>Battery, Department (Service) of<br>2nd and 3rd-class Vessel                   |
| Battalion, Artillery Battalion,<br>Air Squadron, Separate Com-<br>pany (Battery) Commander | Commander of 3rd-class Vessel,<br>Division of 4th-class Vessels,<br>Department (Service) of 1st-<br>class Vessel |
| Commander of Regiment, Separate<br>Battalion (Artillery<br>Battalion, Air Squadron)        | Commander of 2nd-class Vessel or<br>Division of 3rd-class Vessels  |
| Commander of Division, Separate<br>and Organic Brigade, Separate<br>Regiment               | Commander of Brigade of Vessels,<br>1st-class Vessel   |
| Corps Commander  | Commander of Division of Vessels,<br>Naval Base  |
| Army Commander-in-chief  | Commander-in-chief of Flotilla,<br>Squadron, Arm of Naval Forces   |
| Commander-in-chief of Military<br>District, Front, Separate<br>Army                        | Fleet Commander-in-chief   |

FIGURE EIGHT - Comparative Table of Disciplinary Rights (1975)<sup>67</sup>

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF DISCIPLINARY RIGHTS BY TYPE OF DUTY POSITIONS OF  
PERSONNEL OF THE SOVIET ARMED FORCES

| Soviet Army   | Navy  |
|---|---|
| Squad Leader, Gun Crew Chief  | Squad Leader  |
| Deputy Platoon Leader   | -   |
| Company, Battery, Air Squadron<br>First Sergeant  | Detachment, Group, Turret, Battery<br>First Sergeant  |
| Platoon Leader  | Group, Turret Leader  |
| Company, Battery, Flight,<br>Separate Platoon Leader  | Commander of 4th-class Vessel,<br>Battery, Department (Service) of<br>2nd and 3rd-class Vessel                  |
| Battalion, Artillery Battalion,<br>Air Squadron, Separate Com-<br>pany (Battery) Commander  | Commander of 3rd-class Vessel,<br>Division of 4th-class Vessels,<br>Department (Service) of 1st-class<br>Vessel |
| Separate Battalion (Artillery<br>Battalion, Air Squadron)<br>Commander                      | Commander of 2nd-class Vessel or<br>Division of 3rd-class Vessels   |
| Brigade, Separate and Organic<br>Regimental Commander                                       | Commander of 1st-class Vessel   |
| Division, Separate Brigade<br>Commander   | Commander of Division or Brigade<br>of Vessels  |
| Corps Commander   | Squadron, Naval Base Commander  |
| Commander-in-chief of Separate<br>and Organic Army  | Flotilla Commander-in-chief   |
| Commander-in-chief of Military<br>District, Front, Air Defense<br>District, Group of Forces | Fleet Commander-in-chief  |

doctor's examination. These two additions are the result of the requirement (Item Four) that before entering the guardhouse, personnel under arrest must:

undergo a medical examination and ... personal cleansing (washing in the bathhouse, fumigation of clothing). The doctor makes a note to this effect in the arrest report.<sup>73</sup>

The space in the arrest report requiring the date of the bath coincides with the provision in the Garrison and Guard Service Regulation that personnel under arrest must bathe "once a week".<sup>74</sup>

Another change to the text of the arrest procedures to reflect the addition of the arrest report to the Disciplinary Regulation is found in Item Two and requires that the company commander "note in the arrest report in which cell (solitary or common) to confine the serviceman." This corresponds with the item on the report form "V Kakoy Kamere Soderzhdats' " (In which cell to confine). It also ensures adherence to another provision of the Garrison and Guard Service Regulation which stipulates that servicemen are to be separated within the guardhouse by the following rank groupings:<sup>75</sup>

- (a) soldiers and sailors;
- (b) first-term sergeants and petty officers;
- (c) extended-service sergeants and petty officers;
- (d) warrant officers;
- (e) junior officers;
- (f) senior officers.

Both measures requiring a weekly bath with medical examination and separation of offenders by rank appeared in the old Garrison and Guard Service Regulation.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to the arrest report form there is also a form entitled "Otmetka Nachal'nika Gauptvakhty" (Notation of Guardhouse Commander - See Figure Ten). Like the arrest report, this form was transferred from the Internal Service Regulation. The one modification to the form is the addition of the item "Izmeneniya Rezhima Soderzhaniya Pod Arestom" (Changes in the conditions of confinement while under arrest). This allows the guardhouse commander, based on prisoner behaviour, to change guardhouse procedures with regard to mealtime, hours of sleep, work periods, physical training and level of security and provides a documented account of a prisoner's stay, thereby helping to prevent abuses.<sup>78</sup>

One of the more curious additions to the arrest procedures is the stipulation that weapons and ammunition be taken away from personnel under arrest (Item Four). The Garrison and Guard Service Regulation specifies only that "unauthorized" items be taken.<sup>79</sup> The fact that it was necessary to explicitly add the words "weapons and ammunition" to the Disciplinary Regulation makes one wonder what mistakes have been made in the past, the consequences of those mistakes, and the intelligence quotient of the personnel who made them.

Also in Item Four appears a new section listing the clothing and toilet articles required by incarcerated personnel, a provision previously appearing only in the Garrison and Guard Service Regulation. The required items include:<sup>80</sup>

- (a) Everyday uniform (officers, warrant officers, and extended-service

FIGURE NINE - Report of Arrest<sup>71</sup>

REPORT OF ARREST

" " 19\_\_

Company (detachment) \_\_\_\_\_

Position \_\_\_\_\_

Military Rank \_\_\_\_\_

Last name, first name, patronymic \_\_\_\_\_

By whom and when arrested \_\_\_\_\_

Reason for arrest \_\_\_\_\_

Period of arrest \_\_\_\_\_

In which cell confined \_\_\_\_\_

When washed in bathhouse \_\_\_\_\_

Doctor's finding \_\_\_\_\_

Commander \_\_\_\_\_ company (detachment)  
(Military rank and  
signature)

Place for

unit seal

FIGURE TEN - Notation of Guardhouse Commander<sup>77</sup>

Notation of Guardhouse Commander  
(Unit Duty Officer)

Received \_\_\_\_\_

To be released \_\_\_\_\_

Guardhouse Commander (Unit Duty Officer) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Military rank and signature)

Changes in the conditions of confinement while under arrest \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

Released \_\_\_\_\_

Guardhouse Commander (Unit Duty Officer) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Military rank and signature)

(Reverse Side)

Personal items on individual in custody \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
Commander \_\_\_\_\_ Company (detachment)  
(Military rank and signature)

Indicated articles completely accounted for (or with the exception  
of) \_\_\_\_\_

Guardhouse Commander (Officer of the Guard) \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_  
(Military rank and signature)

sergeants and petty officers);

(b) Fatigue uniform with overcoat (soldiers, sailors, and first-term sergeants and petty officers);

(c) Towel; handkerchiefs; clean, spare collar linings; and toilet articles, such as soap, toothbrush and a comb.

In addition, if a serviceman is confined for more than seven days, "he also must have a change of clean underwear" to coincide with his weekly bath.<sup>81</sup>

Lastly, Item Twelve of the arrest procedure in the 1960 edition does not appear in the new regulation. It provided that personnel in confinement must "precisely observe" guardhouse rules and follow the orders of the "guardhouse commander and guard personnel." Failure to do so would result in "additional punishment ... by the garrison commandant ... or unit commander."<sup>82</sup> This provision was probably felt to be redundant, since the same wording can be found in the Garrison and Guard Service Regulation, in the appendix entitled "Gauptvakhte" (Concerning the Guardhouse).<sup>83</sup>

#### SUMMATION

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to identify those differences which exist between the 1960 and 1975 versions of the Disciplinary Regulation and to speculate on the reasons behind these differences. This has been accomplished with the aid of the Soviet military press and other Russian sources and has resulted in the tentative identification of several basic trends in Soviet military discipline in the 15 years between the publication of the two versions.

One trend is the continuing attempt to develop a better disciplinary approach toward servicemen in order to improve morale, decrease conflicts, and enhance communication between subordinates and their superiors. Actions supporting this trend include emphasis on:

- (a) respect for personal dignity;
- (b) treating the soldier as an individual;
- (c) greater promotion opportunities;
- (d) reducing confinement periods;
- (e) soldier "suggestions" about military life and duties;
- (f) greater use of incentives.

According to the Soviet military press, these actions are needed because of the higher level of education and greater intellectual awareness of today's Soviet soldier. In addition, this trend may be seen as an attempt to compensate for poor leadership traits exhibited by lower-level commanders and supervisors, with the implication being that deviation from proper leadership principles may, in itself, be a breach of military discipline.

Another trend is the attempt at enhancing the authority and position of commanders and supervisors, from the noncommissioned officer level to the highest posts in the military, by:

- (a) including previously omitted positions in the regulation;
- (b) increasing incentive authority;
- (c) adjusting confinement periods;
- (d) increasing disciplinary authority.

A Soviet desire to bolster the chain-of-command means that a need exists for such action, and it highlights the Soviet philosophy that:

There is nothing more dangerous for perfecting the combat capability of troops than a light-minded attitude toward the execution of orders.<sup>84</sup>

Clarification of existing provisions to avoid uncertainties and abuses is another clearly identifiable trend in the writing of the new regulation. Its existence is supported by the following actions:

- (a) listing the conditions under which incentives are to be employed;
- (b) limiting early promotion for officers;
- (c) detailing the procedures for employing incentives;
- (d) prohibiting the announcement of disciplinary action against commanders in the presence of subordinates;
- (e) limiting to 24 hours the period of preliminary confinement for offenses involving alcohol;
- (f) prohibiting simultaneous use of disciplinary action and comrades' courts of honor;
- (g) limiting demotion authority to one grade at a time;
- (h) providing specific and separate authority for division and corps commanders;
- (i) realigning army and naval disciplinary rights;
- (j) stipulating that weapons and ammunition be taken from personnel under arrest.

The Soviets believe that one should "live, learn and act according to the regulations".<sup>85</sup> The numerous clarifications exhibit a Soviet ability to learn from their experience with the 1960 regulation, and their declared hope is that the new provision will "provide for the future increase in organization ... and improvement in the quality of the work performed by all personnel".<sup>86</sup> That may be, but the list of lessons learned does not speak well for the "new Soviet man" and his ability to think for himself, which is probably why "organization" and "control" receive so much emphasis.



Enhancing that aspect of control in military life is another identifiable disciplinary trend which finds expression in the following changes to the regulation:

- (a) more restrictive pass policy;
- (b) emphasis on criminal liability;
- (c) increase in disciplinary authority;
- (d) incorporation of the military oath;
- (e) increase in and redefinition of incentive authority;
- (f) more detailed arrest procedures.

This greater statutory control of personnel, both on and off-duty is in keeping with the Soviet view that:

The regulations represent an inviolable code of laws for military life, a moral and legal code which ... defines a common, harmonious system for organizing, training, indoctrination, life and activities for servicemen.....<sup>87</sup>

A fifth trend is the simple modification of the regulation to reflect organizational changes and existing practices in the Soviet military establishment. These include the addition of provisions applicable to warrant officers and female personnel and the deletion of the paragraph concerning the inspectors-general of the various services. In addition, existing practices are codified with the inclusion of specific provisions concerning criminal liability, reduction in rank of noncommissioned officers with transfer to the lower position or to the reserves, annual review of service records, and broadened arrest procedures. This may be part of a larger trend emphasizing Communist legality and encompassing the entire Soviet Union. As Vladimir Bukovskiy, the renowned Soviet dissident, revealed: "more and more activities in the Soviet Union are coming within the framework of laws," and this is based on the general Soviet attitude that, while the quality of some laws may be poor, "a bad law is better than no law at all."<sup>88</sup>

In addition to these basic disciplinary trends, there is another subject mentioned just once and only briefly in the Disciplinary Regulation - technology. Because of the high technology in the military services and the nature of modern war, military discipline assumes an even greater importance. Lieutenant General Goncharov asserts that the:

expanding scope of missions, the military-technical revolution, many-faceted research, servicing and use of various weapon systems and military equipment, sophisticated instruments and vehicles and the peculiarities of supplying a modern-day battle all immeasurably enhance the role of military discipline.<sup>89</sup>

The reason, according to Goncharov, that this new situation has such a great impact on discipline is that:

earlier the mistakes of a single soldier or sub-unit might be compensated for by the successful actions of others (while) today a lack of discipline or an imprecise execution of one's duties by even one member of the military collective may ... thwart the accomplishment of the mission.<sup>90</sup>

The Soviets, no doubt, have had some problems in this area, for it is a topic of continual discussion in the Soviet military press. The prevailing theme is that the requirements of modern warfare cannot tolerate the level of military discipline exhibited in the past, because on the new, nuclear battlefield, "the need for strict discipline has increased and total compliance with all orders, regulations and demands of the military oath is required" (emphasis added).<sup>91</sup>

Does this philosophy, when added to the other identified trends, mean that the Soviets' basic notion of military discipline has undergone a change? The answer seems to be "no", for it is as rigid now as before and could not be more so. General of the Army I Pavlovskiy, Commander-in-chief of Soviet Ground Forces, confirmed this when he wrote that "no objective reason can serve as justification for the violation of established procedure and rules".<sup>92</sup> In addition, the Soviet definition of the term "military discipline", as printed in Chapter One of both versions of the Disciplinary Regulation, remains the same, as do the basic disciplinary demands on each soldier. They read almost like the Boy Scout Law and require, in accordance with paragraph three, that each and every serviceman be trustworthy, loyal, helpful, courteous, thrifty, brave, clean, steadfast and - especially - obedient.

APPENDIX I

The Military Oath<sup>93</sup>

I, a citizen of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, joining the ranks of the Armed Forces, take the oath and do solemnly swear to be an honorable, brave, disciplined and vigilant soldier, to strictly safeguard military and state secrets, and to fulfill without question all military regulations and orders of commanders and superiors.

I swear to faithfully study military affairs, to protect military and state property, and to my very last breath to remain loyal to my people, my Soviet homeland and the Soviet government.

I shall always be ready on orders of the Soviet government to act in the defense of my homeland - the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and as a soldier of the Armed Forces, I swear to defend it courageously, skillfully, with dignity and honor, sparing neither my blood nor my life for the attainment of total victory over enemies.

Should I violate this my solemn oath, however, may I be severely punished under Soviet law and suffer the general hatred and contempt of workers.

## APPENDIX II

### Comparison of Soviet and American General Officer Ranks

| <u>Soviet Union</u>         | <u>United States</u> |
|-----------------------------|----------------------|
| Major General               | Brigadier General    |
| Lieutenant General          | Major General        |
| Colonel General             | Lieutenant General   |
| Army General                | General              |
| Marshal                     | (No equivalent)      |
| Chief Marshal               | (No equivalent)      |
| Marshal of the Soviet Union | (No equivalent)      |

## NOTES

- <sup>1</sup>Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, (Moskva: Izdatel'stvo "Izvestiya Sovetov Deputatov Trudyashchikhsya SSSR", 1976), p.682.
- <sup>2</sup>Colonel I. Serebryakov, "Distsiplinarnyy Ustav", Voyennyy Vestnik, No. 11 (1975), p.12.
- <sup>3</sup>Ministry of Defense USSR, Soldat i Voyna, (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1971), p.49.
- <sup>4</sup>Lieutenant General A. Xmel (Ed.), O Vospitanii Sovetskogo Soldata, (Moskva: Progress Publishers, 1972), p.147.
- <sup>5</sup>Colonel General I. Golushko, "Gluboko Znat' i Tochno Vypolnyat' Trebovaniya Novykh Obshchevoinskikh Ustavov", Tyl i Snabzheniye, No. 11 (1975), p.3.
- <sup>6</sup>Serebryakov, p.15.
- <sup>7</sup>Xmel, pp.142-143.
- <sup>8</sup>Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.682.
- <sup>9</sup>Ministry of Defense USSR, Distsiplinarnyy Ustav Vooruzhennykh Sil Soyuzov SSR (1960 Version), (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1971), pp.47-48.
- <sup>10</sup>Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, pp. 681-720.
- <sup>11</sup>ibid., p.683.
- <sup>12</sup>Colonel N. Stasenko and Major I. Vashkevich, "Ofitser - Imya Gordoye", Krasnaya Zvezda, 21 November 1970, p.2.
- <sup>13</sup>P. Lashchenko, "Byt' Vzyskatel'nymi i Zabotlivymi", Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil, 12 June 1971, p.49.
- <sup>14</sup>Colonel General N. Lapygin, "V Dukhe Ustavnykh Trebovaniy", Voyennyy Vestnik, No. 9 (1978), p.19.
- <sup>15</sup>Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.683.
- <sup>16</sup>"Za Tverdyy Ustavnoy Poryadok", Voyennyy Vestnik, No. 5 (1978), p.3.
- <sup>17</sup>Major General V. Mosyaykin, Stanovleniye Praporshchikov: Problemy, Poisk, Opyt", Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil, No. 16 (August 1974), p.46.
- <sup>18</sup>Major General I. Chernyshov (Director of Personnel, Transcaucasus Military District) "Stanovleniye Praporshchikov", Krasnaya Zvezda, 20 October 1974, p.2.
- <sup>19</sup>Colonel V. Kalinin, "Praporshchik - Prezhe Vsevo Konandir, Spetsialist ...", Voyennyy Vestnik, No. 11 (1974), p.100.
- <sup>20</sup>Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.685.

- <sup>21</sup> Interview with Grigoriy Mikhaylovich Viktorov, former Soviet lieutenant colonel and currently Professor of Military Affairs, US Army Russian Institute, 6 December 1979.
- <sup>22</sup> Golushko, p.4.
- <sup>23</sup> Xmel, p.150.
- <sup>24</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSR, p.686.
- <sup>25</sup> Ibid., p.687.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>27</sup> Serebryakov, p.13.
- <sup>28</sup> Colonel V. Arkhipov and Lieutenant Colonel V. Simonov, "Khorosho li My Znayem Zakony?", Krasnaya Zvezda, 27 December 1970, p.22.
- <sup>29</sup> Xmel, p.152.
- <sup>30</sup> Ministry of Defense USSR, Zakon SSSR Vseobshchey Voinskoy Obyazannosti, (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1974), p.6.
- <sup>31</sup> Victorov (Interview), 3 January 1980.
- <sup>32</sup> Distsiplinarnyy Ustav (1960 Version), p.15.
- <sup>33</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.690.
- <sup>34</sup> "Gosudarstvennaya Distsiplina", Pravda, 12 October 1972, p.1.
- <sup>35</sup> Xmel, p.152.
- <sup>36</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, pp.693-706.
- <sup>37</sup> Ibid., p.693.
- <sup>38</sup> Lieutenant General Goncharov, "Krepkaya Voinskaya Distsiplina - Zalog Uspekhnov Uchebye i Sluzhby", Tyl i Snabzheniye, No. 7 (1974), p.11.
- <sup>39</sup> Ibid., p.10.
- <sup>40</sup> Serebryakov, p.14.
- <sup>41</sup> Comrades' courts of honor are "elected bodies (whose) purpose is to maintain ... dignity and honor ... and inculcate high moral political and military qualities" by examining disciplinary infractions and property claims. Such courts may result in a warning, public censure, reprimand, or recommendations for reduction in position or rank or dismissal from a military school. S.N. Kozlov, Spravochnik Ofitsera, (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1971), pp.380-385.
- <sup>42</sup> "Za tverdy Ustavnoy Poryadok", p.4.
- <sup>43</sup> Lapygin, p.20.
- <sup>44</sup> Distsiplinarnyy Ustav (1960 Version), p.24.

- <sup>45</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.700.
- <sup>46</sup> Ibid., p.706.
- <sup>47</sup> Lapygin, p.20.
- <sup>48</sup> Major General (Reserves) N. Saltykov, "Predstaviteli General'noyo Shtaba ...", Voyenno-Istoricheskiy Zhurnal, September 1971, p.56.
- <sup>49</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.703.
- <sup>50</sup> Distsiplinarnyy Ustav (1960 Version), p.29.
- <sup>51</sup> Colonel General A. Gornyy, "Sotsialisticheskaya Zakonnost'i Voinskaya Distsiplina", Krasnaya Zvezda, 1 November 1974, p.2.
- <sup>52</sup> Distsiplinarnyy Ustav (1960 Version), p.33.
- <sup>53</sup> Serebryakov, p.15.
- <sup>54</sup> Golushko, p.5.
- <sup>55</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.705.
- <sup>56</sup> Xmel, p.152.
- <sup>57</sup> Serebryakov, p.15.
- <sup>58</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.694.
- <sup>59</sup> Interview with Lev Abramovich Udovich, lawyer, former member of the Moscow Bar Association and currently Professor of Soviet Law and Economics, US Army Russian Institute, 8 January 1980.
- <sup>60</sup> Interview with Yevgeniy Yevgen'evich Pozdeyev, lawyer, former journalist and currently Professor of Soviet Constitutional Law, US Army Russian Institute, 8 January 1980.
- <sup>61</sup> Judicial Commission of the Soviet of Ministers, Ugolovnyy Kodeks RSFSR, (Moskva: Judicial Literature Publishers, 1970), pp.88-98.
- <sup>62</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.707.
- <sup>63</sup> Viktorov (Interview), 13 December 1979.
- <sup>64</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.714.
- <sup>65</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.715.
- <sup>66</sup> Distsiplinarnyy Ustav (1960 Version), pp.60-61.
- <sup>67</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.713.
- <sup>68</sup> Serebryakov, p.15.
- <sup>69</sup> Ibid., p.716.

- <sup>70</sup> Viktorov (Interview), 13 December 1979.
- <sup>71</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.717.
- <sup>72</sup> Ministry of Defense USSR, Ustav Vnutrenney Sluzhby Vooruzhennykh Sil Soyuza SSR (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1971), p.221.
- <sup>73</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.719.
- <sup>74</sup> Ibid., p.675.
- <sup>75</sup> Ibid., p.671 and 717.
- <sup>76</sup> Ministry of Defense USSR, Ustav Garnizonnoy i Karaul'noy Sluzhb Vooruzhennykh SSSR, (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1971), pp.226 and 230.
- <sup>77</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.718.
- <sup>78</sup> Viktorov (Interview), 8 January 1980.
- <sup>79</sup> Ustav Garnizonnoy i Karaul'noy Sluzhb, p.224.
- <sup>80</sup> Ibid., p.719.
- <sup>81</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>82</sup> Distsiplinarnyy Ustav (1960 Version), pp.45-46.
- <sup>83</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, p.672.
- <sup>84</sup> Colonel General V. Ivanov, "Yesli Resheniye Prinyato Prikaz Otdan", Voyennyy Vestnik, No. 3 (1975), p.34.
- <sup>85</sup> Golushko, p.10.
- <sup>36</sup> Ibid., p.10.
- <sup>87</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>88</sup> Address by Vladimir Bukovskiy at the US Army Russian Institute, 2 January 1980.
- <sup>89</sup> Goncharov, p.8.
- <sup>90</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>91</sup> Major General S.K. Il'in, Moral'nyy Faktor Sovremennoy Voyne, (Moskva: Voenizdat, 1969), p.129.
- <sup>92</sup> General of the Army I. Pavlovskiy, "Komandir Polka", Voyennyy Vestnik, No. 1 (1971), p.6.
- <sup>93</sup> Sbornik Zakonov SSSR, pp.681-682.



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